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EZEKIEL AND THE BABYLONIAN ACCOUNT OF THE DELUGE.

NOTES ON EZEK. XIV. 12-20.

EZEKIEL was the prophet of the Babylonian exile. Led into captivity together with the King Jojachin in the year 597, he lived henceforth in the place Tel-Abib on the canal of Kebar¹ in Babylonia, where he began his prophetic activity in the fifth year². He differed essentially from his predecessors through his style and the way in which he expressed his thoughts. He worked out his material carefully, sometimes laboriously. He is more of a scholar³. He is thoroughly acquainted with the older prophetic writings, and often uses their language, or models his own upon theirs⁴. But he is not only versed in the literature of his own people. His knowledge also extends to the literatures of other peoples. At the least he must have been familiar with the literature of the country in which he has spent the greater part of his life and in which he has displayed his prophetic activity.

It has already been pointed out for some time that in Ezekiel are to be found Babylonian similes and expressions⁵. It is in perfect agreement with the scholarly nature of Ezekiel to make use of poetry and myth without regard to their origin. It was not necessary that they should be Israelitic. What he wanted was to clothe his idea in a picture, his thought in a poetic garb, and where it came from made no difference to him⁶. He wished to express

himself classically. It therefore need not be surprising if we try to find in Ezekiel parallels to Babylonian literary products.

A very interesting passage in this direction is that in xiv. 12-20, which has a close relation to a passage occurring in the Babylonian account of the Deluge, and which therefore deserves a thorough investigation⁷.

In vers. 21-23 Ezekiel desires to say that God would send to Jerusalem a fourfold punishment⁸ in order to exterminate all the sinners. A remnant, however, would remain to serve as a warning to the exiles. This announcement of the evil that was to befall Jerusalem, Ezekiel prefaces by a short speech in which he propounds the general principle of retribution. This is, indeed, quite in agreement with Ezekiel's habit to introduce his special prophecies by something general, be it a simile, an allegory, a symbolic act, or (as here) a general theory⁹.

We shall reproduce here this speech in the original text and the Babylonian passage in question in transliteration and (both) in English translation, and then see what results follow from a comparison of these two passages.

Text from vers. 12-20¹⁰ :—

12	ויהי דבר יהוה אלי לאמר	
13	בן אדם ארץ כי תחטא לי למעל מעל	
	ונמיתי ידי עליה	
	ושברתי לה מטה לחם	I
	והשלחתי בה רעב	
	והכרתי ממנה אדם ובהמה	
14	והיו שלשת האנשים האלה בחוכה	
	נח דנאל ואיוב	
	המה בצדקתם ינצלו נפשם	
	נאם אדני יהוה	
15	לו היה רעה אעביר בארץ ושכלתה	II

- והיתה שממה מבלי עובר מפני החיה
 16 שלשת האנשים האלה בתוכה
 חי אני נאם אדני יהוה
 אם בנים ואם בנות יצילו
 המה לברם ינצלו
 והארץ תהיה שממה
- 17 או חרב אביא על הארץ ההיא III
 ואמרתי חרב תעבר בארץ
 והכרתי ממנה אדם ובהמה
- 18 ושלשת האנשים האלה בתוכה
 חי אני נאם אדני יהוה
 לא יצילו בנים ובנות
 כי הם לברם ינצלו
- 19 או דבר אשלח אל הארץ ההיא IV
 ושפכתי חמתי עליה בדם
 להכרית ממנה אדם ובהמה
- 20 ונה דנאל ואיוב בתוכה
 חי אני נאם אדני יהוה
 אם בן אם בת יצילו
 המה בצדקתם יצילו נפשם

TRANSLATION¹¹.

- 12 This word of JHVH came to me :
 13 Son of man¹², if a land sin against me by acting faithlessly,
 and I stretch out my hand against it,
 And break its staff of bread, I
 and send famine into it,
 and cut off from it man and beast,
 14 and these three men were in it,
 Noah, Daniel, and Job,
 they would by their righteousness save themselves (lit.
 their own soul),
 says the Lord JHVH.

- 15 If I send wild beasts throughout the land and they ^{II}
 depopulate it,
 and it became waste, so that no one pass through it
 because of the beasts,
- 16 though these three men were in it,
 by my life! says the Lord JHVH,
 they would save neither sons nor daughters;
 they alone would be saved,
 and the land would be waste.
- 17 Or, if I send a sword into that land, III
 and say: "Sword, pass through the land,"
 and I cut off from it man and beast
- 18 and these three men were in it,
 by my life! says the Lord JHVH,
 they would save neither sons nor daughters,
 but they alone would be saved.
- 19 Or, if I send pestilence into that land IV
 and pour out my fury on it in blood,
 to cut off from it man and beast,—
- 20 and Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it,
 by my life! says the Lord JHVH,
 they would save neither son nor daughter,
 they by their righteousness would save (but) themselves
 (lit. their own soul).

The idea is then here this, that a sinful people ¹³ cannot be saved by the virtues of a few righteous men. Every one atones for his own sin ¹⁴. The pious, however, are saved through their piety.

Now let us look at the passage in the Babylonian account of the deluge.

After the flood was over the god Ea reproached the god Bēl, who was chiefly responsible for the deluge ¹⁵, for his rash action, and stated what he (Bēl) ought to have done to punish the sinful.

This passage reads in the transliteration as follows ¹⁶:—

- 180 *ilu E-a pa-a-šu ēpuš-ma ikabbi*
 181 *izakar(-ar) ana ku-ra-di ilu Bēl*
 182 *at-ta ab(p)kal ilāni ku-ra-du*
 183 *ki-i ki-i la tam-ta-līk-ma a-bu-ba taš-kun*
 184 *be-el hi-ti e-mid hi-ta-a-šu*
 185 *be-el kil-la-ti e-mid kil-lat-su*
 186 *ru-um-mi a-a ib-ba-ti-iḫ šu-du-ud a-a i[r..]*
 187 *am-ma-ki taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba*
 188 *nēšu lit-ba-am-ma nīše li-ša-aḫ-hi-ir*
 189 *am-ma-ki taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba*
 190 *barbaru lit-ba-am-ma nīše li-ša-a[h-hi-ir]*
 191 *am-ma-ki taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba*
 192 *ḫu-šah-ḫu liš-ša-kin-ma māta liš[. .]*
 193 *am-ma-ki taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba*
 194 *ilu Ira(-ra) lit-ba-am-ma māta liš-giš.*

TRANSLATION.

- 180 Ea opened his mouth and speaks,
 181 Says to the warrior Bēl:
 182 "Thou sage of the gods, warrior!
 183 Why¹⁷ didst thou not take counsel and didst bring
 a flood?
 184 On the sinner put his sin¹⁸,
 185 on the evil-doer put his evil deed¹⁹!
 186 (But) be merciful so that not (All) be cut off, be patient
 so that not (All) [be destroyed]²⁰.
 187 Instead of bringing on a deluge,
 188 let lions²¹ come and diminish mankind²²!
 189 Instead of bringing on a deluge,
 190 let tigers²³ come and diminish mankind²⁴!
 191 Instead of bringing on a deluge,
 192 let famine come and [smite²⁵] the land²⁶!
 193 Instead of bringing on a deluge,
 194 let pestilence come and waste²⁷ the land²⁸! "

Now, apart from the naming in Ezekiel of the three righteous men, we find a striking agreement between these two pieces of literature. As in Ezekiel the idea prevails here that every man has to suffer for his own iniquities (cf. ll. 184, 185). While now a deluge makes the escape of the righteous impossible²⁹, other visitations would affect the guilty only. The punishments, which are enumerated here, are almost the same as those in Ezekiel; *nēšu* in l. 188, and *barbaru* in l. 190, correspond to the חיה רעה in ver. 15, *hušahhu* in l. 192 to the רעב in ver. 13, *Ira* in l. 194 to the דבר in ver. 19. If now the succession is not quite the same, and in the Babylonian account of the deluge the punishment of war is omitted³⁰, it is nevertheless beyond doubt that Ezekiel had this passage in mind when he wrote down his words in vers. 12–20. Cf., by the way, ver. 21, where חרב stands first, רעב second, חיה רעה third; cf. also Ezek. v. 17³¹.

In form, too, this passage in Ezekiel resembles the corresponding one in the Babylonian account of the deluge. Cf., e. g., the לו introducing the second punishment in ver. 15³² with the *lū* in *litbamma*, *lišahhūr*, &c.³³ As in Ezekiel ארץ stands alternately with (ובהמה) אדם, in the Babylonian *nīše* (ll. 188 and 190) alternates with *mātu* (ll. 192 and 194). Worthy of notice is also the equality of the metre in both³⁴.

All this proves that Ezekiel made use of the Babylonian account of the deluge, and formed this short oration after the passage quoted³⁵.

Now this fact—of Ezekiel's dependence upon earlier models becoming apparent to an ever greater extent—leads to a much more important question, which I shall touch here only inasmuch as the present examination helps to answer it. In what relation does Ezekiel stand to Lev. xvii–xxvi, the so-called "Law of Holiness"? On account of the many similarities between Ezekiel and Lev. xvii–xxvi³⁶, several critics assumed that Ezekiel was the author of those chapters in Leviticus³⁷. Other scholars, however, for various reasons regard this theory as inadmissible. While now some

of them place Lev. xvii-xxvi *before* Ezekiel³⁸, others assign to those chapters a later date³⁹. One of the chief arguments of the latter is that Ezekiel could not be regarded as so unoriginal⁴⁰. Now the present investigation proves that Ezekiel was really not very original. After what has been said here it should be taken for granted that the similarities between Ezekiel and Lev. xvii-xxvi not only prove *nothing* for the posteriority of the latter, but unquestionably speak for the priority of those chapters in Leviticus. As we have seen Ezekiel has made the most liberal use of the literature which existed before him (Israelitish and non-Israelitish), and that not only as regards the thoughts contained therein, but also the phrases and expressions. For Ezekiel's way of writing it is only natural that when he wanted to speak of prescriptions and commands which had been fixed in writing and were known, he should make use of the same expressions which he found in the collections in question. Just as it is impossible for Ezekiel to have been the author of Jeremiah⁴¹ or of the Babylonian account of the deluge, so he cannot have been the author of Lev. xvii-xxvi. Leviticus must rather have been before his eyes, for only in this way can the striking agreements in both be explained. The originality of Ezekiel which, compared with that of the other prophets, is, as already pointed out, rather insignificant, may be said to consist chiefly in the way he works out the material before him (compilation, ornamentation, &c.), and in the untiring iteration and accentuation of the ideas of morality, and in constantly *reminding* Israel of its duties which had been formulated long before him⁴².

APPENDIX.

In connexion with the foregoing remarks, which show to what great extent Ezekiel was influenced by the Babylonian language and culture, I should like to give here a new explanation of the expression בן אדם, so frequently occurring in Ezekiel and used when God addresses the prophet. This

בן אדם appears to me to be formed after a Babylonian *mār ameli*. In the *Code of Hammurabi*, §§ 175, 176, mention is made of a *mārat avelim*, which means "the daughter of a freeman" (cf. *Vers.* col. 13, ll. 60, 66, 71, 88; col. 14, ll. 8, 10, 20, and see the translations of Scheil, Winckler, Johns, Kohler-Peiser, Harper). If there was a *mārat avelim* there must also have been a *mār avelim* ("son of a freeman," "freeborn son"), which might have been the prototype of בן אדם in Ezekiel. This apostrophe would then have nothing to do with "the human weakness in contrast to the divine might" (see Toy, *Ezekiel*, Engl. transl., p. 96, l. 39 sqq., and Kraetzschmar, p. 22; also Bertholet, p. 13; Buhl-Gesenius¹³, p. 12: "Sterblicher!"). Passages as Ps. viii. 5, Job xxv. 6, and Isaiah li. 12 would by no means speak against my assumption. There בן אדם is used in a connexion, where human weakness is expressly spoken of. Indeed, in all the three passages, אנוש is used parallel with בן אדם, so that אנוש denotes the weakness and frailty of man just as אדם; cf. also Isa. xxxi. 3, where we find אדם only; cf. also Num. xxiii. 19, Job xxxv. 8, Ps. lxxx. 18 (איש parallel with אדם (בן אדם), and Job xvi. 21 (נבר parallel with אדם (בן אדם), also Ps. xlix. 3 and lxii. 10 (בני אדם parallel with בני איש). Why then did Ezekiel use only the expression בן אדם if he wanted to emphasize his human weakness? This is, however, quite intelligible if we regard it as an imitation of a Babylonian *mār ameli*⁴³. Whether now בן אדם here stands for "freeborn son" (whence we might conclude that Ezekiel was a "free citizen" of Babylon or Tel-Abib), or in a weakened meaning simply for "man" matters little. I would, however, be inclined to assume that בן אדם has here really the first meaning ("freeborn son," "free citizen") and is intended as a title. This would be in perfect agreement with Ezekiel's formalism.

NOTES.

¹ Cf. Ezek. i. 1, iii. 15. The name of the Kebar was found some years ago on a Babylonian contract-tablet from the time of Artaxerxes I (B. C. 464-424); see Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Series A, vol. IX (1898), p. 28: "a large navigable canal not far from Nippur"; cf. also Jensen in *Zeitschr. f. Ass.*, vol. XIII, p. 331 sq., Kotalla in *Beitr. z. Ass.*, vol. IV, p. 556, and Haupt in Toy's *English Translation of the Book of Ezekiel*, p. 93, l. 16 sqq.

² Cf. Ezek. i. 2.

³ See for this already Ewald, *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, vol. II, p. 208; of the recent commentators see Bertholet, "Das Buch Hesekiel" (in Marti's *Kurzer Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*), p. xvi, and Toy, *Engl. Transl. of Ezekiel*, p. 91 sqq.

⁴ Cf., e.g., Smend, *Der Prophet Ezechiel* (1880), pp. xxiv, xxv, where a number of passages is quoted in which Ezekiel's dependence on Jeremiah is evident.

⁵ Cf. D. H. Müller, *Ezechiel-Studien* (1895); see now especially the remarks of Haupt in the notes of Toy, *Hebrew Text and Engl. Transl. of Ez.*; see also Toy in Cheyne's *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, col. 1459. As to the vocabulary, see Friedrich Delitzsch, *Specimen glossarii Ezechielico-Babylonici* in Baer's *Ezechiel*-edition (Leipzig, 1884). Also when Ezekiel speaks of the writing- and drawing-material, he thinks of the clay-tablets used in Babylonia (cf. Ezek. iv. 1 לִנְחָה לְךָ כֶּתֹב, and see Toy, *Translation*, p. 98, l. 37 sqq. About Babylonian clay-tablets with plans, maps, &c., see *ibid.*, p. 100 sqq.). See also the Appendix below.

⁶ It may be that he used similes, metaphors, and expressions of Babylonian life and literature, because he was sure that his hearers, members of the upper classes (see 2 Kings xxiv. 14-16), who had certainly made themselves well acquainted with the culture of their new country, would then understand him better. It is also possible that he believed he would in this way make his speeches more attractive (cf. Ezek. xxxiii. 32).

⁷ Cf. the short note of Haupt in Toy's *Hebrew Text of Ezekiel*, p. 63, on l. 15, and *Translation*, p. 122, on l. 14.

⁸ See Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 146.

⁹ Cf. Ezek. xxi. 5 : הָמָּה אֹמְרִים לִי הֲלֹא מִמֶּשֶׁל מִשְׁלִים הוּא.

¹⁰ I follow the Massoretic text; see below, note 33. In order to bring into relief the poetic form I shall give the strophic division; see for the latter, D. H. Müller, *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form*, vol. I, pp. 131, 132, and vol. II, pp. 38, 39; see also the translation of Kraetzschmar, "Das Buch Ezechiel" (in Nowack's *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*), pp. 140-2.

¹¹ For the translation, see Toy, *Engl. Transl.* The adaptation to the Hebrew rendering is mine.

¹² See, however, below (Appendix).

¹³ By פָּרָא in ver. 13 is certainly not "meant the special land Palestine" (Kraetzschmar, ad loc.). It is also by no means clear "that he (Ezekiel) aims exclusively at Israel or Juda" (Bertholet, p. 75). It is, on the contrary, a generally delivered oration. Already our Babylonian parallel speaks against "exclusively Israel." To the expression לְמַעַן כָּעַל too much importance must not be attached (see Bertholet and Kraetzschmar, ll. cc); observe, e. g., in Ezek. xviii. 24 כָּעַל כָּעַל parallel with חָשָׂא חָשָׂא !

¹⁴ Cf. Ezek. xviii, especially ver. 4^b and ver. 20^a.

¹⁵ See KB., VI₁, p. 240, ll. 168-70.

¹⁶ For transliteration and translation see P. Jensen, "Assyrisch-Babylonische Mythen und Epen" (in E. Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. VI, Part I=KB., VI₁), pp. 242, 243. The lines refer to Tablet xi (of the Gilgamic epos), which contains the Babylonian account of the deluge. Several signs have variants, for which see Jensen, loc. cit.

¹⁷ For *kī* as an interrogative particle see KB., VI₁, p. 420 (note on p. 112, l. 25), and p. 497 (note on p. 238, l. 121).

¹⁸ i. e. punish the sinner for his sins.

¹⁹ i. e. punish the evil-doer for his evil deeds.

²⁰ See, for the supplementation and translation of this line, Zimmern in Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (1895), p. 427; see also Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 505, and Pinches, *The Old Testament in the light of the historical records and legends of Assyria and Babylonia*, 2nd edition, p. 107. Winckler (in *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 2nd edition, 1903, p. 93) takes this line quite differently. He translates: "aber der . . . möge nicht vertilgt werden, der *šudud* möge nicht . . . werden," and remarks: "In (*rummē* und ?) *šududu* erwartet man Ausdrücke für 'gerecht, unschuldig,' die der Gegensatz zu den zwei vorhergehenden Versen verlangt." *Rummē* and *šudud* are, however, no doubt verbs; see already Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 145. כָּרַח has the same meaning as the Hebrew כָּרַח.

²¹ In the Babylonian text stands the singular (see Transliteration, l. 188), as in the Hebrew text (חֵדֶר רֵדָה).

²² But do not destroy it altogether.

²³ See note 21. The meaning of *barbaru* is not yet quite certain. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 182^a, gives "wahrscheinlich Schakal"; see, however, Jensen, KB., VI₁, p. 433 (note on p. 136, l. 2 below): "Weil stereotyp mit dem Löwen zusammen erwähnt, wird es schwerlich den Schakal bezeichnen, sondern wohl den Leoparden oder den Tiger oder sonst ein Tier aus dieser Sippe." Cf. also Zimmern, loc. cit., and Jastrow, loc. cit.

²⁴ See note 22.

²⁵ See Jensen KB., VI₁, p. 243, note 9. Winckler, loc. cit., reads *lis*-[*kip*?] and translates ["verheeren"].

²⁶ See note 22.

²⁷ Winckler, loc. cit., reads *lim-[haš?]*; see, however, Jensen, loc. cit.

²⁸ See note 22.

²⁹ For this is the meaning of the words of Ea. True, Ut-napištim (the Babylonian Noah) has been saved, but he had first to be warned by a god (Ea) and summoned to build a ship. Besides, only Ut-napištim alone has been saved, while other righteous men may have perished. In case of the other punishments here enumerated, however, the escape of the righteous is much more possible.

³⁰ The second plague is merely a strengthening of the first.

³¹ It is besides very probable, too, that in the *elaboration* of this short speech of his, Ezekiel had also—in the second place—been influenced by Lev. xxvi. If we look at it well the order of the penalties is there the same as in Ezekiel. Lev. xxvi. 19, 20 contains nothing else but the prediction of famine, to which ver. 26 is added supplementarily. Ver. 22 speaks of wild beasts (חיה חסדה), ver. 25^a of war (חרב נקמה), ver. 25^b of pestilence (דבר), to which also seems to belong what is announced in ver. 16. Cf. also Lev. xxvi. 6. Linguistic similarities, too, are to be found. With *ושברתי לה מטה לחם* (Ezek. xiv. 13), cf. *בשברתי לכם מטה לחם* (Lev. xxvi. 26); with *ושלחה* (Ezek. xiv. 15), cf. *ושלחה אתכם* (Lev. xxvi. 22); with *והיה שממה מכלי שבר* (Ezek. xiv. 15), cf. *ונשמו דרכיכם* (Lev. xxvi. 22); with *והנחתי עליכם חרב נקמה* (Ezek. xiv. 17^a), cf. *והנחתי עליכם חרב נקמה* (Lev. xxvi. 25); with *ואמרחי חרב תעבור בארץ* (Ezek. xiv. 17^b), cf. *חרב לא תעבור בארצכם* (Lev. xxvi. 25); with *או דבר אשלה אל הארץ ההיא* (Ezek. xiv. 19), cf. *ושלחתי דבר בתוכם* (Lev. xxvi. 25^b). See also Ezek. iv. 16 and v. 17. That, nevertheless, this whole speech in Ezekiel has been *conceived* after the passage in the Babylonian account of the deluge and not after Lev. xxvi (which, as I said, may have influenced the arrangement of the penalties and the linguistic elaboration) follows clearly from what has been set forth above. The fundamental idea (the principle of retribution) is the same in both. Interesting is, in Lev. xxvi. 22, the expression *ואתם תמעיטם* compared with *niše lišahhir* in ll. 188 and 190 in the Babylonian account of the deluge. Both words have got exactly the same meaning ("to diminish").

By the way, in the similar, somewhat differently composed, oration in Deut. xxviii. 15-68, the same chief penalties can be distinguished which are identical with those named here. Ver. 21, pestilence (אם חרב), ver. 22 enumeration of different diseases, which apparently also belong to דבר; also vers. 27 and 35. Vers. 38-40 really speak of hunger, also vers. 23, 24; vers. 53-7, consequences of the famine; vers. 25, 33, 36, 48-52, apparently consequences of the war. Wild beasts are not mentioned here.

I may remark that for these orations (in Leviticus and Deuteronomy) are of the greatest interest the fragmentary tablets published in transliteration and translation in KB, VI, pp. 274-91, under the title "Ea (?) und Atar-ḥasīs (?) " (cf. also Zimmern in *Zeitschr. f. Ass.*, vol. XIV, pp. 277-92; see also Zimmern, *Die Keilschriftdenkmäler und das Alte Testament*, 3rd edition, p. 552 seq.). Cf., e. g., with Lev. xxvi. 29, *ובשר בניכם ובשר* ואכלהם

ואכלו פרי בשך בשר בניך ובנחך. *KB.*, VI₁, p. 276, ll. 35, 36 (35 *šiššitu šattu i-na ka-ša-di il-tak-nu ana nap-ta[-ni mārta]* 36 *[ana-] ?-ša-te b(p)u-na il-tak-nu: im-la-ni ma-ŠU* [. . .] = When the sixth year came, they laid [the daughter] for a me[al], they laid the child (Zimmern, *ZA.*, XIV, p. 288: Sohn) [for] . . ., filled themselves . . . [. . .], and p. 280, ll. 48, 49 (almost the same words as those just quoted); with Deut. xxviii. 54 האיש הך בך והענן מאד חרע עינו באחיו ובאשה חיקו וביתר בניו אשר ויהי, and xxviii. 56, 57 מהחענן על הארץ מהחענן אשר חרע עינו באיש חיקה ובבנה ובנחה ובשליחה היוצת מבין רגליה ובבניה אשר חרע עינו, כי האכלם בחרם כל בסתר במצור ובמצוק אשר יציק לך אינך בשערך, cf. *KB.*, VI₁, p. 276, ll. 31-4 (31 *šamultu šattu i-na ka-š [a-di] e-rib ummi mārta i-da-gal* 32 *ummu a-na mārta ul i-pa-te bāba-ša* 33 *zi-ba-ni-it ummi mārta i-n[a-]a-šal* 34 *zi-ba-ni-it mārta i-na-šal [ummu]*) = When the fifth year came, the daughter looks on the entry of the mother, the mother opens not her gate to the daughter, the daughter lo[oks] upon the balance of the mother, the mother looks upon the balance of the daughter); with Lev. xxvi. 19 ושברתי את נאן עונם ונתתי את שמיכם כברל ואת ארצכם נחשה, and Deut. xxviii. 23, 24 יהיו שמך אשר על ראשך נחשה והארץ אשר תחתיך ברל יתן, cf. *KB.*, VI₁, p. 278, ll. 29, 30 (29 *e-liš il[u]* [*Adad zu-un-na-šu u-ša-kir*] 30 *is-sa-kir šap-l[il] ul iš-ša-a mi-lu ina na-a-k-bi*) = Above [Adad made his rain dear], be[low] it was shut off, [raised no flood in the cavity of the fountains], and p. 284, ll. 44, 45 and 54, 55 (almost the same words); cf. also the *Code of Hammurabi (Epilogue) Vers.*, col. 27, ll. 68-71, see *ibid.* ll. 7-9; with Lev. xxvi. 20 ליק כחכם ולא חתן ארצכם את יבולה ועץ הארץ לא יתן פרי, and Deut. xxix. 22 גפית ומלח שרפה כל ארצה לא חורע ולא תצמיח ולא יעלה בה עשב, cf. *KB.*, VI₁, p. 278, ll. 31-34 (31 *i[š-š]ur eklu [iš-pi(-)k (k)e-e-šu* (see Jensen a.1.) 32 *[i-ni-' irtu ša] ilu Nisaba [: mušāte ip(b)-šu-u ugāre]* 33 *[šeru pal-ku-u u-i] i-id i[š(d, t)-]ra-nu ib-bal-kit k(k)i-ri-im-ša* 34 *[šam-mu ul u-ša]-a šu-[u ul '-ru]*) = The field [dimi]nished [its . . .], [pushed the breast of] Nisaba (the corn-deity) back: [During the nights the plains grew white]: [The white field bo]re sa[lt; that passed into her bosom]. [Vegetables came not for]th, cor[n . . . not]], and p. 284, ll. 46-9 and 56-9 (as in the lines just quoted, which have been supplemented after those passages); cf. also *Code of Hammurabi Vers.*, col. 27, ll. 10-13 and ll. 72-5; with Lev. xxvi. 16 אף אני אעשה זאת לכם והשקדתי עליכם בחלה את השחפת ואת הקדחת מכלוח עינים ומדיבות יכנה יהיה בשחפת ובקדחת ובולקת ובחרחור ובחרב ובשדפת, and Deut. xxviii. 22 יכנה יהיה בשחין מצרים ובעפלים ובגרב ובחרם אשר לא וביקון ורדפק עד אבדך, חולל להרפא, and xxviii. 35, &c. יכנה יהיה בשחין רע, cf. *KB.*, VI₁, p. 280, col. 3, ll. 9, 10, and p. 282, ll. 11, 12 (9 *[l . . .] ?-ma šu-ru-bu-u lib-ši* 10 *[sur-r] iš li-ši ri-gim-ši-na namtāru* 11 *[ki-m]a me-še-e li-zi-ka-ši-na-ti-ma* 12 *[mur-š]u šu-ru-bu-u a-sa-ku* = [. . . may] and fever may arise, [so]on may a pest silence their cry, and lik[e] unto a storm may break forth (upon) them [disea]se, marsh-fever, fever, misfortune), and p. 282, ll. 13-16 and ll. 25-8 (almost the same words); cf. also p. 288, col. 1; cf. *Code of Hammurabi Vers.*, col. 28, ll. 55-69; cf. also *KB.*, VI₁, p. 296 (The King

of Kutha, col. 3, see also Zimmern in *ZA.*, vol. XII, pp. 321, 325), ll. 3-6 (3 *ša-lum-mat ni-ši mu-ši mu-u-tu namtāru a-ru-ur-tu* 4 [*n*]a-mur-ra-tu *ḥar-ba-šu ni-bi-is-su-u ni-bi-re-tu* 5 [*ḥu-ša-a*]ḥ-ḥu *di-tib-tu ma-la ba-šu-u* 6 [*ana eli*]-*šu-nu it-tar-da* = Terror of the night-demons (so I would like to interpret *šahummat niši mūši*; Jensen himself also feels the difficulty of his translation; see his note on p. 555; see also Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 665^b), death, pest, earthquake, dismay, horror, . . . , hunger, famine, misery, as much as there is, has come [upon] them). Cf. also Zimmern in *ZA.*, vol. XIV, p. 288, note 1; see also (especially for Deut. xxviii. 54, 56-7) *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, Part XIII, pll. 49, 50, and cf. Micah vii. 2-6, especially vers. 5, 6. I intend shortly to deal fully with all these passages in connexion with other questions.

³² Vers. 15, 17, and 19 are in fact more similar to one another than ver. 13, so that ver. 15 looks in some degree like a new beginning. Ver. 13 is more general. Indeed, the iniquity of man, the cause of the punishments, is here spoken of at the same time. The expression שָׁר מַסָּה לָהֶם, too, seems to imply something more than hunger, something more general (state of general devastation). In fact, there follows immediately upon it וַחֲשֹׁדָדִי בָהּ רָעָב; cf. in Lev. xxvi. 26, where שָׁר לָכֶם מַסָּה לָהֶם stands after all the plagues and punishments and looks like a summing-up of all of them. In Ezek. iv. 16, הִנֵּנִי שָׁר מַסָּה לָהֶם בִּירוּשָׁלַם seems to indicate general distress; cf. also Ezek. xii. 17-20 with Ezek. vii. 16, 17. Ezek. xiv. 14 too, compared with vers. 16, 18, 20, looks more like a general announcement that the righteous will be saved. In vers. 16, 18, 20 follows then the fuller specification. Of course, such nuances must not be pressed, but yet they are not without any significance.

³³ This shows, by the way, that the וִי which stands here is not an "old error of the scribe" (Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, p. 254), but is in its perfectly right place. The emendation in וִי, which Gesenius-Buhl (13th ed., p. 403) and Bertholet (p. 76) have accepted, is wrong; see also D. H. Müller, *Die Propheten*, p. 136, Haupt in Toy's *Hebrew Text of Ezekiel*, p. 63, note on l. 15, and Kraetzschmar, p. 141; compare the preceding note. It begins with וִי and is continued by וִי. That Ezekiel did not (as in the Babylonian) use וִי throughout, shows again how carefully he elaborated the style. Neither is the correction from וִינְצִלוּ בְּנֵפְשָׁם into וִינְצִלוּ made by Cornill after Hitzig admissible. The difference in the wording between vers. 14 and 20 on the one hand, and vers. 16 and 18 on the other hand is very great indeed. In vers. 14 and 20 it reads וְהָמָּה בְּצִדְקָתָם, upon which then follows "will save their soul (themselves)." They save themselves by their own merits. In vers. 16 and 18 בְּצִדְקָתָם is not mentioned. Here stress is chiefly laid on the fact of their being saved, on the escape from the general ruin. Notice also that in vers. 14 and 20 the names of the righteous men are mentioned, but not in vers. 16 and 18. Cf. also D. H. Müller, loc. cit., Bertholet and Kraetzschmar, a. l. The reliability of the Massoretic text is being always more proved by the Babylonian-Assyrian monuments on one hand and by deepest possible

penetration into the Hebrew text on the other. Cf. also D. H. Müller, loc. cit., p. 137 above.

³⁴ About the strophic construction in Ezek. xiv. 12-20, see Müller, loc. cit., pp. 130-7. On the Babylonian metre see Zimmern in Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 401, note 1, and p. 423, note 1; see also Zimmern in *ZA.*, vol. VIII, p. 121 sqq., *ZA.*, vol. X, p. 1 sqq., and *ZA.*, vol. XI, p. 86 sqq.

³⁵ As to his being influenced at the same time by Lev. xxvi, see above, note 31. It is also possible that Ezekiel had before him another version of the Babylonian account of the deluge, which showed still greater similarities to his oration; see, for variants, Zimmern in *KAT.*³, p. 552 sqq.

Hereby is also explained the contradiction, often emphasized, between this introduction (vers. 12-20) and the following verses 21-3 (see Bertholet, p. 76; also Smend, pp. 82-5. The explanation of D. H. Müller, *ibid.*, pp. 135, 136, is untenable. According to the theory set forth in vers. 12-20, all sinners were to perish!). In vers. 12-20 must not be said *exactly* the same thing, which in vers. 21-3 is applied to Jerusalem. Rather was this general introduction meant to illustrate to the hearers the familiar theory of retribution in a form known to them (see above, note 6), and on the basis of this theory to demonstrate to them the punishment of the guilty Jerusalem as inevitable. *Entire* agreement between the two pieces is, however, not necessary.

³⁶ See Smend, pp. xxv-xxvii; also Driver, Introduction, 6th ed., 1897, p. 147.

³⁷ Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (1866), p. 81 sqq.; Kayser, *Das vorexilische Buch der Urgeschichte Israels und seine Erweiterungen* (1874), p. 176 sqq.; Horst, *Leviticus xvii-xxvi und Hezekiel* (1881), p. 69 sqq., and others.

³⁸ Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alten Testaments* (1869), p. 67 sqq., especially p. 68 and p. 71; Klostermann, *Der Pentateuch*, p. 368 sqq., and Delitzsch, *Studien*, p. 617 sqq.; cf. also Cheyne and Black, *Enc. Bibl.*, col. 2791.

³⁹ Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuch*, 3rd ed., p. 168 sqq.; Smend, pp. xxvi, xxvii, and p. 315, and others. P. 315, Smend says: "Nach alledem ist das Corpus Lev. xvii ff., das ohne allen Zweifel in die exilische resp. nachexilische Zeit gehört, für jünger als Ezechiel zu halten, zumal das von jenen Capp. unzertrennliche Stück Lev. xxvi eine handgreifliche Nachahmung Ezechiels ist." Baentsch (*Das Heiligkeitgesetz Lev. xvii-xxvi*, 1893) divides Lev. xvii-xxvii into four parts: xviii-xx (=H¹), older than Ezekiel (see p. 84, also p. 86 sqq.); xxi, xxii (=H²), dependence upon Ezekiel doubtful, although probable (p. 109), more certain on p. 115; xvii (=H³), relation to Ezekiel uncertain (see p. 118); xxvi, see p. 125: "Danach kann es wohl als ausgemacht gelten, dass Lev. xxvi eine Nachahmung Ezechiels und darum jünger ist als dieser Prophet." For Lev. xxiii-xxv, see p. 44 sqq. Driver, although "favouring" the priority of Lev. xvii-xxvi, cannot, however, arrive at a positive result (especially as to Lev. xxvi);

cf. *Intro.*, 6th ed., 1897, p. 145 sqq., particularly p. 150; cf. also Driver's "Leviticus" in Haupt's *SBOT*, Engl. transl., p. 101: "It is impossible to speak positively on a question of such difficulty; yet the balance of probability seems rather to favor the priority of Lev. xxvi."

⁴⁰ Cf. Baentsch, p. 124: "Wäre Lev. xxvi älter als Ezechiel, so hätte Ezechiel seine ganze Phraseologie und sehr wesentliche Vorstellungen aus diesem Stücke entlehnt. Es bliebe für ihn nicht allzuviel Originales mehr übrig."

⁴¹ See above, note 4.

⁴² It is interesting to note how Ezekiel, in spite of his having absorbed the Babylonian culture, was in his *religious* thinking not in the least influenced by his surroundings. In this direction the observations of Gunkel in *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 169, 170, are noteworthy, from which I should like to quote the following words: "Man lernte von den Babyloniern, wie die Welt gestaltet und entstanden sei, und welche älteste Geschichte sie gehabt habe. Alles dieses ist nur ein Wissen. Das Centrum der Religion berührt sie nicht." The same can be said of the later times; cf. my article "Talmudische und midraschische Parallelen zum babylonischen Welterschöpfungsepos," in *Zeitschr. f. Ass.*, vol. XVII, p. 396, below.

⁴³ The same may apply to אדם בן אדם in Dan. viii. 17.

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